1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9



The establishments of chiefs as a rule boasted a considerable number of servants, usually kinsmen of inferior rank, who for the most part resided in houses within the chief's enclosure.

The husband is considered the head of the immediate family, even though the wife be superior in rank. In Tonga, as elsewhere, disposition naturally plays a part in the relations of husband and wife.

In many Tongan families, husband and wife are blood relatives, for cross-cousin marriage was practiced, especially among people of rank. The genealogy of the Ata Islanders (p. 281) shows 10 first-cousin marriages out of 26 marriages of relatives. This probably gives a somewhat exaggerated idea of the prevalence of marriages of blood relatives in the rank and file of the Tongan population. Nevertheless, such marriages were no doubt common.

Fison's description of a nagging wife (24, p. 65) is not typical, for in general, domestic quarrels are rare. Mariner (40, vol. 2, pp. 92, 169) mentions the absolute power which every man holds in his own family:

> . . . for even if his wife be of superior rank, he is nevertheless of higher authority in all domestic matters, and no woman entertains the least idea of rebelling against that authority; and if she should, even her own relations would not take her part, unless the conduct of her husband were undoubtedly cruel. . . . If a woman not a noble is the wife or daughter of a mataboole, she ranks as a mataboole; if she be a noble, she is superior in rank to him, and so are the children male and female; but in domestic matters she submits entirely to his arrangements; notwithstanding this, however, she never loses the respect from her husband due to her rank, that is to say, he is obliged to perform the ceremony of *mo'ē-mo'ē* before he can feed himself. If the husband and wife are both nobles of equal rank, the ceremony of *mo'ē-mo'ē* is dispensed with; but where there is any difference the inferior must perform this ceremony to be freed from the *tăboo*. If a woman marries a man higher in rank than herself, she always derives additional respect on that account; but a man having a wife who is a greater noble than himself acquires no additional respect from this source, but he has the advantage of her larger property.

A man might anciently divorce his wife by merely telling her to go. Young children of divorced parents go with the mother.

Married people of both sexes are referred to as *alafia* (untouchable), a word used particularly by young men in reference to young married women.

There were no family names in the sense of European patrilineal surnames. Such surnames have been introduced, however, at the Tongan government college, where young men are registered with their fathers' names as surnames. Tongan informants frequently give place names, but state, however, that such names changed with change of residence. Obviously, these are not family names in the true sense.

With regard to the relations of old and young, Wilson (65, pp. 348, 385) compares the customs of Tongatabu with those of Tahiti:

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9



## CHAPTER VII.

000 **Desertion of one of Finow's wives, and the wife of the prince —Rencontre between one of the fugitives and Mr. Mariner—Attempt to take the enemy's women while gathering shell-fish—Dispute about the female prisoners—Return of the Hapai canoes with provisions—Palavali's attack upon a party of the enemy, and killing a man within a sacred fencing—Strangling a child as an atonement for this sacrilege—Death of Palavali—Finow, growing tired of the war, in an artful manner negotiates a peace—Finow's apology for the conduct of the Vavaoo people at an entertainment given them—Entertainment given by the Vavaoo chiefs to Finow and his chiefs—Sentiments respecting praise, bravery, &c.—New regulations of Finow—Toobo Toa' deputed tributary governor of the Hapai islands—His arrival at the Hapai islands, accompanied by the prince and Mr. Mariner.**

669 722 586 A FEW days after Havili's unsuccessful attempt to secure the enemy's hogs, one of Finow's wives ran away from Neafoo; being shortly missed by the rest of the women, in searching for her, it was found that one of his son's wives had taken the same step, and it was supposed they had gone together. When this was made known to the king, he left the fortress instantly, accompanied by five or six men, and directed his course along the main road leading to Felletoa, but without any success. He returned

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9



very much dejected, and sent to his aunt, Toe Oomoo (the chief of the enemy), requesting to have his wife returned, stating, that it was a war between men, and not women; but his remonstrances had no effect. These women both laboured under the jealousy and tyrannic influence of Möonga Toobo, Finow's favourite wife: partly to rid themselves of this, and partly to visit and live with relations they had in the opposite garrison, they made their escape, and took a by road near the sea-shore. On the morning of their departure, Mr. Mariner was at some distance from Neafoo, gathering shaddocks in a thicket: for, although his wound did not allow him to use any active exertions, yet he now and then went abroad by the help of a stick, which, no doubt, was one cause that rendered the cure very tedious. Being up in a tree, he heard a rustling noise in the bushes below, and, directing his attention to the spot, was surprised to see one of Finow's wives. Prompted by curiosity, he came quickly down, and, seizing her by the arm, inquired what caused her to stray so far from the fortress, and to expose her person and her life to the insults and cruelty of the enemy: she replied, that she had only come out for a walk, and was going shortly to return. To this account he objected, that it was too far, and too dangerous a walk

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9



for her to take alone, with the risk of meeting Moteita and his followers, who often concealed themselves in those woods, and declared his suspicion that she intended to run away. She immediately fell on her knees, clasped her hands, and begged and intreated most earnestly, that he would not prevent her flight from the dominion of tyranny to the bosom of her relations, and appealed most pathetically to his own feelings and affections towards his mother, or whatever relatives he might have in his own country, and represented how hard and cruelly severe it would be for any one to prevent him flying to them, if it were otherwise in his power. Being moved by the earnestness of her manner, and the unfortunate circumstances of her situation, he raised her up, and promised not to interfere in her escape, nor to divulge the matter to any one, and gave her full liberty to proceed whichever way she thought proper.

Finow had, for a long time past, entertained the idea of seizing upon several of the enemy's women, who were in the habit of assembling at a certain part of the inlet, to gather shell-fish, and now, that his wife had run away, he was more than ever encouraged to do this, by way of retaliation upon Toe Oomoo, for the detention of her. The place where they procured this sort of fish, was upon a shelf of rocks (about

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9



a positive duty in every married woman to remain true to her husband. What we mean by a married woman is, one who cohabits with a man, and lives under his roof and protection, holding an establishment of him. A woman's marriage is frequently independent of her consent, she having been betrothed by her parents, at an early age, to some chief, mataboole or mooa: perhaps about one third of the married women have been thus betrothed; the remaining two thirds have married with their free consent. Every married woman must remain with her husband whether she choose it or not, until he please to divorce her. Mr. Mariner thinks that about two thirds of the women are married, and of this number full half remain with their husbands till death separates them; that is to say, full one third of the female population remain married till either themselves or their husbands die: the remaining two thirds are married and are soon divorced, and are married again perhaps three, four, or five times in their lives, with the exception of a few who, from whim or some accidental cause, are never married; so that about one third of the whole female population, as before stated, are at any given point of time unmarried. This calculation is made with due reference to the women living on the plantations, who are almost all married to the

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9



and on such occasions sometimes consent to the solicitations of chiefs whom they may happen to meet, not, as Mr. Mariner thinks, from an abandoned principle, or want of affection to their husbands, but from a fear of incurring the resentment of their superiors: the wives even of the lowest orders, he thinks, are very faithfully attached to their husbands.

From the above investigation, we think it would be but giving a fair opinion of the reputation of the married women to say, that they are not only circumspect in conduct, but chaste in principle; and when we consider that the married women form about two thirds of the female population, (that are marriageable,) it will give us no mean opinion of their moral reputation.

When a man divorces his wife, which is attended with no other ceremony than just telling her that she may go, she becomes perfect mistress of her own conduct, and may marry again, which is often done a few days afterwards, without the least disparagement to her character: or if she choose she may remain single and admit a lover occasionally, or may cohabit with her lover for a time, and remain at his house without being considered his wife, having no particular charge of his domestic concerns, and may leave him when she pleases, and this she

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9



586 may also do without the least reproach or the
587 least secrecy. From this circumstance we may
836 draw an argument in favour of the chastity of
837 the women generally, for if they were of a dif-
581 ferent character it is natural to suppose that
[831] very few would marry, except those who, when very young, were betrothed to chiefs, and consequently married independently of their consent: but we find that three times that number are actually married: and as many are married three, four, or five times, it cannot be from an unchaste, libertine, or wandering disposition on the part of the women, seeing that when once divorced they may remain single if they please, and enjoy all the liberty that the most libertine heart can desire. If now it be asked, "Why then do they marry?" The answer is, for love of one object, with the idea that the object of their affections will *always* make them happy; and if they are disappointed in one instance they are willing to try it in a second, a third, &c.: in short, it would appear that the force of sentimental affection blinds them to the probability of a disappointment, and they willingly make a generous sacrifice of their liberty to prove the strength of their attachment*.

836 As to those women who are not actually mar-
832

* The position, that every woman is at heart a rake, does not appear to hold true in the Tonga Islands.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9



least appearance of any *bad* effect. The women are very tender, kind mothers, and the children are taken exceeding good care of: for even in case of a divorce, the children of any age, (requiring parental care), go with the mother, it being considered her province to superintend their welfare till they grow up; and there is never any dispute upon this subject. Both sexes appear contented and happy in their relations to each other. As to domestic quarrels, they are seldom known; but this must be said to happen rather from the absolute power which every man holds in his own family: for even if his wife be of superior rank, he is nevertheless of higher authority in all domestic matters, and no woman entertains the least idea of rebelling against that authority; and if she should, even her own relations would not take her part, unless the conduct of her husband were undoubtedly cruel. That the men are also capable of much paternal affection, Mr. Mariner has witnessed many proofs, some of which have been related; and we have already mentioned that filial piety is a most important duty, and appears to be universally felt.

Upon these grounds we would venture to

South Sea islands, we must do the Tonga people the justice to say, that they have not the most remote idea of any thing of the kind.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9



**227. Mala nima:** Bad luck (of the) hand. 539 226 777

Bad luck, or curse, that is not a visitation of the unseen powers but arises from the awakwardness or folly of man. The phrase is said to have had its origin in the bonito fishing of a certain Tamanika of Fotuhaa in Haapai. He went on board a boat and had the task of bailing out. The fish bit well but the man in charge of the lines continually failed to land a catch. Tamanika vented his disgust in exclamations of, "*Isa, mala nima,*" "Ugh, bad luck from the hand." At length Tamanika was given the fisherman's post and a wonderful haul resulted. It is said that the reef called Hakau Tabu was given to Tamanika in recognition of his expertness.

**228. Mavae a pa keina:** Separation of an eaten hook, that is, a hook that attracts the fish and often gets a bite. 539 226 586

This is applied, for example, to a handsome man and a handsome woman who have been married, but afterwards separated. Each one of them is a hook that is very likely soon to catch another fish.

**229. Ngofua e fanga kae taumatu:** The beach is free. get the *matu*. 539 226 622

A beach near which lived a great chief could not be fished on at will by the common people. The Samoan *matu (Caesio pisang)* is a fish which is found inshore, and therefore cannot be caught by the common people near where a chief is living except when the lord's beach is open to the public. Such removal of restriction is indicated by the phrase; the beach is open and even the *matu* may be caught. Used generally of being permitted to do that which was prohibited. 423 [136] [784]

**230. Oku kei mata ae tua niu:** The rib of the coconut leaflet is still green. 539 226 824

Indicates primarily a fishing net in which the leaflets of the coconut are strung on a rope. This net is used more than once; it may be used as long as the leaves remain in good condition. Applied directly to fishing it means that there is still opportunity for the sport as the net is not yet past service. Generally it means that there is still time, or opportunity, for something.

**231. Pa kuo fau:** Fish hook that has been made, that is, skillfully made by a real craftsman. 539 226

Thence generally to that which has the marks of real craftsmanship about it.

**232. Taki taha uku ene fonu:** Each one dive for his own turtle. 539 225 571 622

This is commonly used of everybody attending to his own interests. The pursuit of the turtle is a difficult sport calling for considerable experience and skill. It is a sport moreover whose fruits must be properly

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9



eaves, and left only the door-way open, which was never closed, night nor day.

Such spacious habitations are necessary for the chiefs, whose household, in general, is large, as composed of many attendants. But there are generally small apartments contiguous to the house, in which his wives and children lodge. One of his wives, however, for the most part, slept with him in the same room, in a space, separated from the rest by inclosures of Takkabou, or matting, three feet high, fitted up to the beams, that went across to the centre post, to keep it upright.

The household of Mulkaamair was considerable. He had at different times from four to eight wives, eight sons and five daughters, besides many attendants. The children were all in great subjection to him, and of different rank and dignity, according to the rank of their respective mothers. For family dignity, in Tongataboo, descends not from the father, but the mother, owing, it is probable, to the frequency of divorce, and of illicit intercourse.

When the day declined, about seven o'clock, if they were not disposed to dance, they would retire to bed, or, more properly, to recline on their matting.

But when they had retired, the most social employment of the day took place. As they lay reclining at their ease, Mulkaamair and his numerous household, that lay round him, would commence conversations, that amused them till they all fell asleep.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9



175 nicated the affair to the daughter, who consented
584 to the match. But, as the choice of a husband is not in the power of the daughters, but he is provided by the discretion of the parent, an instance of refusal on the part of the daughter, is unknown at Tonga-
[586] taboo. This, however, is deemed no hardship there,
[831] where divorce and unchastity are so general. Some power of accepting or rejecting a partner for life, seems highly reasonable for the fair inhabitants of an island, where marriage, sanctioned and confirmed by laws human and divine, is justly considered an inviolable covenant for life: and a chaste fidelity, the pure fountain of its bliss, which would be destroyed by the least contamination.

175 Preparations were then made for the nuptials.
585 The joyful bridegroom arrived, and the virgin was introduced to him at the head of the same ceremonious procession described above, only in the latter part of the day. Almost the whole district was collected together to celebrate the marriage, and partook plenteously of the provisions collected for
[535] the occasion. At the close of the festival, the attendant women took the modest bride, who was seated by the side of her husband, by the hand, and gracefully conducted her in procession through the range of guests, to an apartment prepared for the occasion: to which he also soon retired; whilst the numerous visitors spent the night in entertainments and dances.

584 178 not interested in letting her marry the first man who chances to come along. The marriage itself, therefore, is decided upon, not by the young people, but by the older men of the two households. The two young people are sufficiently concerned with older Tongan ways not to cut an apparent knot by elopement and thus to anger their elders.

## MARRIAGE

583 585 [588] From our household-census it is possible to present a rough statistical picture of the marital status of all the adults in the village. There are thirty-nine couples living together as man and wife. Of this number, thirty-five couples are married. The marriage ceremonies of these thirty-five couples are of two types. Civil- and church-registrations account for nineteen couples, civil- and church-registrations plus old-time Tongan-style celebrations of the marriage, account for the remaining sixteen couples. Of these thirty-five marriages, twenty-three are between mates whose only marriage is the present one. Twelve marriages are between persons of whom one or both have been previously married. Types of marriage in this category and the number of each are: Single man with divorcée, two; divorcé with single woman, five; widower with single woman, three; widower with widow, two. Of these twelve marriages, therefore, ten are those in which a previously unmarried person mated with someone previously mated. [586] [587] It is thus clear that a previous marriage terminated by death or divorce is no bar to remarriage with a previously unmated person.

586 [435] The cost of a divorce in Tonga is ten pounds per mate, or twenty pounds per divorce. This sum represents the amount that it would take an average householder almost two years to earn by cutting copra on his plantation. It is 586 588 only to be expected therefore, that many unhappy Tongan marriages end not by divorce but by an informal separation which allows the mates to set up unblessed unions with others 588 in like circumstances. If these unions become permanent, the mates are tacitly assumed by the villagers to be as-if married, the children as-if legitimate. The village attitude is more one of pity for misfortune than anything else. There is never any comment, scandal, or gossip about such unions.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai



588 Of the four couples living together in marriage without
586 benefit of any marriage-ceremony, all of the four women concerned are legally married to husbands from whom they have unofficially separated. They have either deserted their husbands or have been deserted by them and have neither the interest nor the money to secure an official divorce. Of the four men involved in these unofficial marriages, two are widowers, one is an unmarried man, and one is unofficially
588 separated from his wife. All four of these couples have been living together for some considerable time and all four couples have had several children each during the course of their "marriage." There has been nothing unstable, that is, about the relationship.

589 A further nineteen adults (arbitrarily defined as those twenty-five years of age or older) in the village are at present unmarried. Of these, one is a spinster, eight are bachelors, nine are widows and one is a widower. The widows and the widower are past marrying-age. The spinster is also old. The bachelors are comparatively young. They will probably marry in the near future.

582 In order to get some idea of the relative frequency of inter-village marriage as compared with intra-village marriage, forty-four Pangai marriages were studied. These include the thirty-nine couples mentioned above together with a further five couples whose marriage had recently been dissolved by the death of one of the partners but which could come within this survey because the pre-marital residences of the partners were clearly remembered. In all these marriages both partners were resident in Pangai village. The birthplace and pre-marital residence of the mates is shown in the following table.

TABLE 11.—BIRTHPLACE OF MATES.

| | MEN | WOMEN | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Village | Total | Pangai | Vava'u | Outside Vava'u | Total |
| Pangai — — — | 35 | 15 | 14 | 6 | 35 |
| Vava'u (excluding Pangai) | 3 | 3 | — | — | 3 |
| Outside Vava'u — — | 6 | 6 | — | — | 6 |
| | 44 | | | | 44 |

Of the thirty-five Pangai men involved, forty-three per cent. married Pangai women, forty per cent. married women

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai



## CHURCH SUPPORT

794 The Protestant villager supports his church by attending church at least seven times each week, by sending his children to Sunday school, by paying quarterly dues of 2/- per member, by building and repairing his church, by paying his pastor a small stipend (in Pangai, five or six pounds per year), by providing a plantation-garden for the pastor, by providing the kerosene for the lamps of evening service. Children graduate from Sunday school to full church-membership at about the age of sixteen years.

793 In return the pastor is on hand to bless every necessary
794 occasion with Divine help and support. He also provides powerful moral and spiritual exhortations for each church service. An easy-going pastor will get on well with his church members. Pastors with unbending principles, on the other hand, will often come into conflict with the villagers, especially when he urges them to put principles into practice. The Protestant villager is unbending in his principles, more easy about practice. He will often criticize mildly those whose actions suggest a slipping of morality. But he feels that it is the job of the police to do more than this; and if the police do not do more, then he is content to let well alone.

794 As a sidelight on both religion and morality in the
589 village, it may be noted that should a local lay-preacher (deacon) lose his wife by death, he generally resigns his
[586] preaching commission as long as he remains a widower,
[587] applying to have his name again entered on the rolls when he remarries. The apparent assumption by all concerned is that one should not be asked to trust a lay-preacher, by definition one who is both highly religious and highly moral, to remain a pure-souled, good, unsinful Christian while unmarried. Wise in the ways of men, the Wesleyan Church prefers to put no Tongan to such a test.

794 According to the pastor of the Neiafu Free Wesleyan Church, the village of Pangai itself is considered in church circles to be a pretty poor village both economically and spiritually. This is inferred from the fact that there is a long-standing debt of some twenty-odd pounds on the church-house. No amount of prodding seems to make it possible

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9



the choice of their partners. The young man anticipates the interview with the lady's parents with much the same feelings of confidence or trepidation as animate the breast of his European contemporary in like circumstances. It is not always the good will of the girl's own father that must be won, as his inclinations may often be overborne by his elder brothers, or by his sisters—the "brothers" and "sisters" may of course be cousins near or distant—who are his superiors in the family conclave. The chances are that the lovers' wishes will be met, but the young lady does not as a rule pine in the face of an adverse decision, and the disappointed swain is more likely to find comfort in the reflection that there are other pebbles on the beach, than to indulge gloomy musings upon the unkind fate that has stood between him and his soul-mate.

Occasionally head strong youth refuses to acquiesce in the parental prohibition, and the lovers elope. If they are both of age the Government permit to marry cannot be withheld, the religious ceremony follows as a matter of course, and the happy, or almost happy, couple wait with a confidence, which experience usually shows to be well founded, that the resentment of their kin will be short-lived, and that, like the philosophers they are, they will accept the inevitable, and acknowledge the undutiful son and daughter by a performance of the proper nuptial rites.

The youth who goes a-courting is frequently moved to call the muse to his aid, and to tell his adoration in "songs of sweet-scented flowers," compositions which, though rather rough in form, display much poetic feeling both for love and some of the beauties of nature.

The old practice seems to have been for the matron's hair to be cut differently from the maiden's. The virgin wore two long locks at the back of the head, but at marriage these were cut off, and the hair then allowed to grow an equal length all over the head. Although marriage was marked by extensive ritual the bond was easily terminable. No life-long guarantees were expected or given. Late in the eighteenth century one of the artisans in the party sent by the London Missionary Society to Tonga fell in love with a Tongan girl, and a date was fixed for the marriage. Previous to the ceremony the missionaries explained to the young lady the nature of the bond she was about to contract, but at the mention of a life-long union she promptly refused to go on with the matter. She was quite prepared for a union for as long as their mutual liking dictated, but would not be bound "till death do you part."

The great chiefs had numerous harems, but it cannot be inferred that there was any degrading inferiority of women. The Tongan, indeed, is justly proud of the position which his women-folk have always enjoyed. Genealogies show that great ladies frequently had many lovers. The system was free and easy, and the women fared

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9



574 431 578 178 extent, and form the chief source from whence evils arise, among church members, which require the exercise of discipline by the Missionaries.

181 577 The morals of the Tonguese were never so thoroughly debased as those of the Sandwich or Society Islanders, and other groups that might be named; but there was enough, nevertheless, to show how low humanity could fall, when without the restraints and sanctions of a Divine faith.

595 Polygamy was common, the number of a man's wives depending upon his own inclination, and his ability to keep them. Some sentiments relative to [837] connubial fidelity prevailed, which may be said to [586] have bordered on morality; for, after the parties had lived together a while, mutually pleased, it was considered disgraceful to separate. There were also some, even among the better classes, who were content to live with one wife only; and examples of domestic happiness were by no means uncommon.

847 Infanticide did not disgrace the history, and destroy the vitality of the Tonguese nation.

855 888 Children were nurtured with great care and affection; and aged people were not subjected to the neglect and cruelty that was dealt out to such persons in Fiji and other Polynesian groups. Yet,

181 831 with all this, there was much lasciviousness, and want of natural affection.

152 266 There can be no doubt as to the existence of cannibalism in these islands in former days. It never became so prevalent as it once was in New Zealand, nor so truly atrocious in its character, as it now is, or has been in very recent years, in the islands of Fiji. It was customary, however, in times of war; and strange tales are told of one

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka



554 differentiated from every other brother does not exist in fact in the village.
621 But such rank is limited to the relative rank, strictly speaking, between two persons concerned, and is not the absolute rank of the triangle of hierarchy.

In my opinion, it looks both theoretically and practically impossible to integrate all the people of the community into the ramified structure for the following reasons:

554 (a) Generally, the union of a man and woman is not stable. It is
621 not unusual for a man to have children by several women and for a
586 woman to have children by several men. Consequently, an individual
587 may have a number of half siblings who share the same mother and at
593 the same time who share the same father. It must be difficult to integrate all the siblings of the community as a whole in one alignment from the highest to the lowest in accordance with the order of their birth.

554 (b) An individual often has a double relationship to another in-
621 dividual. For example, if 28 traces through his mother, the mother of
602 24 and 16 is his sister, but if 28 traces through his father, she is his father's sister's son's daughter (see Fig. 3). In this case he may probably behave towards her according to the direct relationship as brother and sister. But what is the criterion to integrate all the villagers in one hierarchy for they may have a double or triple relationship with one another?

554 (c) The sister is superior to the brother and her children to his
621 children. Consequently, a man (A) who marries a woman rises auto-
593 matically into a higher position than her brother (B). On the other
607 hand A can not hold up his head before a man (C) who marries A's sister. Then in the relationship among these three men, C, is in the highest rank while B is in the lowest. But it may well be that B is the elder brother of C, or B's mother is C's father's sister. For these reasons it is difficult to stratify all the descendants of one person into a single ramified system.

554 Anyway, there are three principles in regard to ranking; the elder
593 brother is higher than the younger brother; the sister is higher than the brother; and the husband is higher than the wife. These principles may sometimes offset each other. So each individual has a double rank; this one is higher than that, but this may be lower than that. Even if a person is the direct descendant in the senior line of a common ancestor, his rank is not always paramount. At the same time a descendant from
622 a remote collateral is not necessarily the lowest. Leka occupies, in fact,
621 the supreme position in the community. This seems to be so because he is
554 *eiki* (chief) and *matapule* of the Queen, not because he belongs to the
428 senior line of the kinship; he is the second son of his father Tevita Leka,
848 whose first son may be an illegitimate son, and this first son's daughter's sons are 16 and 24.

554 As described in the latter half of this paper, the relative rank of
593 individuals is quite important in Tongan family. The behaviours of kin
602 are precisely defined, and expressed overtly on the ceremonial occasions.
585 In *kava* drinking at weddings, the first and the second cups were taken by
276 particular persons, but no one remembers who got the subsequent cups.
574

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi



794 member of the corps of lay preachers is not consonant
589 with the behavior attributed to young unmarried men. I
562 knew of an unmarried man in his late thirties who held a highly respected administrative position in government and who was very active in congregational activities in his village. Yet he was not a member of the corps of lay preachers. I asked someone who knew him well why this was so, and was told rather huffily that membership in the corps of lay preachers is not automatic and that the man had apparently chosen not to petition to be made a member. Why not, I asked. Fa'iteliha pē ia--'it's his prerogative'--I was told. He was married a few months after that, however, and not long afterwards I heard that he gave his first sermon. Marriage, then, is taken to be related to a person's moral uprightness and fitness to be a member of the corps of lay preachers.

794 This is also indicated by the case I was told of a man
586 who, shortly after he was divorced, made the request that
562 his name be removed from the register of lay preachers. I was told that he was not required to do this but that he may have done it because he did not want his status as a divorced man to reflect upon his membership in the corps of lay preachers.

794 As far as I could tell, membership in the women's
562 auxilliary, the 'corps of moral instructors', makes little

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 0U9 Tonga 0U9



Further evidence that Tongan attitudes to marriage are changing is suggested by the proportion of husbands to wives. The 1956 census asked people if they were married, never married, widowed, or divorced. *De facto* spouses living together were treated as married, "the aim of the census being to record things as they are and not as they should be";[13] the total number of recorded husbands exceeded the number of wives by 317. The same questions concerning marital status put in 1966 returned a remarkable reversal; there was, despite a steady ratio of males to females, a surplus of 307 wives over husbands.

These figures may be explained in several ways. The census figures may be in error because of the question being misunderstood or because of the informant concealing his or her *de jure* as against *de facto* marital status from the often strange census enumerator (teachers): this would require some widowed or unmarried mothers to have been included in the 1966 but not in the 1956 returns as "married" persons and/or some widowers or *de facto* husbands to have been included as "married" in the 1956 but not in the 1966 returns. A second possibility is that the number of married men overseas (in Australia, Hawai'i, United States, New Zealand, New Hebrides, United Kingdom) has greatly increased. Lastly, there is a case here for serial monogamy, that is, contraction of second marriages without legally divorcing the first spouse, especially in a country where legal divorce is uncommon[14] because of its expense[15] and the fact that it is not traditional custom.

* * *

As already mentioned it is not possible to quantify unemployment or underemployment in Tonga from the data of the 1966 census; what is apparent, however, is that Tonga is industrialising very slowly—considerably slower than is necessary to absorb projected increases in the size of the work-force. It has been estimated in the Report (p. 30) that over 11,000 young men will pass the age of fourteen during the decade beginning 1966, but only 1,444 men will pass the age of sixty-four over the same period. It is likely, therefore, that apart from deaths and migration, the size of Tonga's male work-force will increase by about 9,700 in ten years. Taking into account the land shortage discussed above, where are these young men going to find employment?

There was no industry of any importance in Tonga before 1940, but the Tonga Government took control of copra production and marketing in 1942 after Lever Brothers made the mistake of selling out on a rock-bottom market. This state enterprise has produced economic independence for Tonga through the policy of gradual industrial development by government agencies without outside financial assistance.[16] Since 1956, there have been state-owned developments in shipping, fishing and manufacturing (desiccated coconut, coir-processing, soap, concrete blocks,

13. Tonga 1958:23.
14. There were only 405 divorces recorded on census day, representing only 1.77% of the 23,317 people who declared themselves married.
15. Legal costs for divorce proceedings may range from twenty to several hundred *pa'anga*, and the cost of maintenance has also recently risen.
16. Tupouniua 1960:405–508.

592 597 moved out of the household. At this stage adults feel the need for companionship, and may also need assistance in performing household chores and subsistence tasks.

597 The reasons why parents allow their children to be adopted are both the negative factors of hardship and a willingness to assist childless [848] couples. Illegitimate children are frequently adopted by someone in the mother's family, not because of any great stigma but to give the child a socially acceptable position and to free the mother to find a [837] husband. Children thought to have been conceived in adulterous relationships are often unwanted by the mother's husband, and he might in- [586] sist that the child be adopted out. Men who lose their wives through [768] death or divorce and are left with small children will usually allow them to be adopted or even actively seek an adopter. Parents experiencing economic hardship, severe illness, or marital instability may [602] actively encourage the adoption of their children. It is believed that families with several children should be willing to give one to a childless kinsman and in some cases this seems to be the only motivation.

Gratitude for services rendered will sometimes result in adoptions. A women who cures a sick child may be given the child as a gesture of parental appreciation. Another example is provided by a man I shall call Finau who was visiting an outer island. During his stay there Finau had an argument with the kinsman he was visiting and was asked to leave. A non-kinsman befriended him and looked after Finau until passage could be arranged back to Tongatapu, the main island. Out of gratitude Finau asked his benefactor what he could do in return. The

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9



man had his own wife at Tonga many evils would be avoided and many sins destroyed'. In order to safeguard marriage Section 8 decreed that a deserted wife might claim her husband's plantations and property while a woman who deserted her husband should be brought back to him; if she refused to remain she could not lawfully remarry during her husband's lifetime.

It should be pointed out that marriages in Tonga were frequently arranged, by one's parents or by a chief, without reference to the wishes of the couple who were betrothed. A marriage was entered simply by the woman cohabiting with a man under his roof and protection. She was expected to remain with her husband until such time as he might choose to divorce her. Mariner estimated that about two-thirds of the married women in Tonga had been divorced and married again several times. The missionaries condemned this custom, not only because they regarded it as immoral and sinful, but also because it had led to several murders, when men of lower rank had married the former wives of superior chiefs.

The great emphasis which was placed on the holiness of the Sabbath and of church services by the missionaries is clearly and unequivocally reflected in Section 2, which exhorts people to abstain from work on the Sabbath day and to attend places of worship, and which makes it an offence for anyone to disturb the service or insult the minister of the congregation.

Another distinct feature of the Code is the importance given to industrious habits and the cultivation of the land. Many missionaries complained bitterly because the Tongans appeared to them incredibly indolent. In a letter to the General Secretary of the mission, the Reverend John Whewell asserted that the Tongans were naturally indolent. 'Only the old and married people', he wrote, 'profess to work. The young people spend their time up to manhood in supreme indolence or in what is worse—voyaging from group to group' (Whewell to Eggleston, 4 Aug. 1856, WMMSA 1852-79, item 170). A few, on the other hand, argued that the people were not entirely an idle race. Their aversion to work was mainly due to the abundance of natural resources from which their simple wants were supplied. Hence, there was no strong incentive for them to work, but when it appeared necessary

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9



blooded Tongans" have some admixture of foreign blood (mostly European), and there is a danger that the number of these will continue to increase. 563

The smallness of the country and the land-laws do not attract Asiatics, and those who have entered the country in recent years are mostly Japanese storekeepers and Indian tailors, saddlers and house-servants. 563 167

BIRTH-RATE. The birth-rate for 1931 was particularly high, 40.9 per 1,000 of the population. The average for the past ten years is 36.95. This may be compared with the average in New Zealand 19.01, Australia 22.19, and Fiji (1927 only) 32.53 per 1,000. 163 000

The illegitimate births, averaged over the past ten years, were 17.32 per cent. of the total number of births. Illegitimacy in Victoria, for example, represents 4.80 per cent. 163 848 000

DEATH-RATE. Unfortunately, the death-rate is also high, 17.46 per 1,000 of the population in the period 1922-1931 but only 15.40 for the last year. This compares favourably with Fiji (1927 only) 22.98, Japan 21.2 and Italy 16.5 per 1,000, but it far exceeds the rate in some other countries, such as England and Wales 12.2, Australia 9.4 and New Zealand 8.5 per 1,000. 165 000

It is most regrettable that, though native treatment is forbidden by law, it is practised everywhere, even within easy access of Government Medical Officers. Of the 432 deaths registered in 1931, 205 were certified by medical officers, 228 had not been attended; nevertheless, this is better than in 1923, when 178 deaths were certified and 309 not attended. The medical officers are gradually winning the confidence of the people, and the return of qualified Native Medical Practitioners from the Central Medical School, Suva, in 1933 should increase the acceptability of European treatment among the Tongan people. 757 [456] [165] 759 757 178

Some causes of death in recent years were :—Tuberculosis 23.5% of the certified deaths, typhoid fever 11.1%, pneumonia 10.7%, influenza 1.3%. Malaria is unknown, yaws and filariasis are common but not usually fatal, and leprosy is not common; cases of leprosy are sent to Makogai, Fiji, where there are thirteen Tongan lepers at present. 165 164

Tuberculosis is undoubtedly the scourge of the group. The Medical Department does its utmost especially with incipient cases, but it is recognized that its efforts would be aided if the Tongans would seek treatment and carry it out. Deaths from tuberculosis in Tonga average annually 33 per 10,000 of the population*, as against 17.5 in France, 9.7 in England and Wales, and 5 per 10,000 in New Zealand. 164 165

* (This assumes that the proportion of tuberculosis as the cause of death in the cases of those uncertified was the same as for those certified.)

INFANT MORTALITY. The average number of deaths of infants under 12 months for the last ten-year period stands at the alarming figure of 119.09 per 1,000 births, but for the last five-year period the rate was only 67.7 and 67 in 1931. This may be compared with England and Wales 71, Australia 53, and New Zealand 38 per 1,000 births. 000

MARRIAGES. The marriage rate is 10.40 per 1,000 of the population, as compared with 7.92 in Australia. The rate of divorces to marriages in the past ten years has been 1 in 9.05. 162 [581] [586]

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1843-1850]



adopted and promulgated as their own, and not as the laws of the missionaries. This was accordingly done: and when the code was finally completed and made law the missionaries found in it much that was contrary to their own views." (6)

Among important features of this Code were the following:

III. 1. "No respect of persons in the trial of offenders."

III. 3. "The remuneration which the judges and officers shall have made to them by the king is the distribution of the convicted persons amongst them, to labour for them at their respective places."

VII. 4. "Let all know that the separating of man and wife is a difficult matter; since the marriage contract is a command of God, the minister must first marry them; but, in case of trial, and the crime proved, then the minister must pronounce them separated, in the large chapel, before all the people, even as their marriage was performed. Then the writing of divorce shall be given to the innocent party."

VIII and IX. Punishments were provided for adultery and fornication.

XI. "Dancing is strictly forbidden, as well as all heathen customs . . .".

XVII. Abortion "is a most disgusting crime and highly deserves punishment".

XXIX. The sale of land by anyone, chief or commoner, to any foreigner is forbidden.

Lawry wrote of the provisions of the Code of 1850:

"They are not all that we wish them to be . . . especially on the mode of paying the judges out of the fines levied on the offenders, which is sure to corrupt the seat of justice. . . . Upon the whole, however, this movement is a grand step towards the civilization of the entire nation, . . . There is no good reason why it has been so long delayed. . . . The Statute-book is to be printed at our Mission press." (7)

While Tonga was becoming stabilized in its internal government, its relations with the outside world brought other problems, and here also the Wesleyan Mission became involved. The growing interest of foreign Powers in the Pacific Islands was beginning to affect Tonga and the maintenance of Tonga's independence loomed large in the king's mind. He and his people were very fearful of any foreign designs, real or imaginary. Indeed no Pacific Islands group has been more sensitive at this point. The L.M.S. missionaries in 1797 were plagued by the false reports of the runaway sailors who told the Tongans that the missionaries were agents of Britain who had come to take away the country. Lawry in 1822-3 was harassed by similar lies. Being sold to a foreign nation or seeing their flag hauled down (in Tongan terms) was a lurking fear which unscrupulous Europeans could manipulate, as events in later years showed.

After 1843, when France annexed Tahiti, a cold shudder passed over many lands in the Pacific. The entry of the French priests into Tongatapu gave rise to some apprehension; if they had not so often spoken of support from French warships the people's fears might soon have subsided. Tupou I realized that France had been aided in Tahiti by the divisions among Tahitian chiefs and the disloyalty of some of them to their monarch. He feared the effects of possible disunity and disloyalty in Tongatapu.

The first approach for British assistance was made by Aleamotu'a. On 19 February 1844 he sent a letter appealing for protection, to Robert FitzRoy, Governor of New Zealand, for transmission to Queen Victoria. Evidently it was sent to the Colonial Office and then to Lord Aberdeen at the Foreign Office, but there was no reply. Its contents revealed the agitation felt by Tongan chiefs because of French policy in the Pacific. (The letter in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, is signed "George of Tonga" but that signature is crossed out and "Josiah" substituted). The letter stated,

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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West, then in England, printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society, synchronized with this epoch-making year.

"All laws relating to serfdom are repealed" was the essence of the detailed provision for the abolition of Tonga's old feudal system. What had been included in the Codes of 1839 and 1850 was made explicit now, in spite of the reluctance of many chiefs. Though the serfdom that had existed in Tonga was not comparable to slavery under masters of another race, as in America, yet the ancient absolute power of Tongan chiefs over the lives and property of their people was out of keeping with the position of the country in 1862. The day of the warrior-chief had passed, and with the spread of education and the acceptance of Christian principles equal opportunities for commoners with chiefs had to be recognized. Not only was the arbitrary rule of the chiefs ended, but the king's own authority itself was limited by the Code of 1862.

Under the new Code, land was to be allotted by the chiefs to their people. All males sixteen years and over were entitled to their allotments, with right of continued possession, provided that the rent was paid. The poll-tax was fixed at three dollars. (Tongan dollar = four shillings.) The rent to be paid to the chiefs for tax-allotments was two shillings per annum. This system of guaranteeing land to all Tongan males has been followed ever since, only the scarcity of land and the population explosion in recent years preventing its full implementation. Salaries to judges and other civil servants were to be paid from public revenue, not from fines as under the old system. Customs duties were fixed.

4 June 1862 is commemorated also for the beginning of parliamentary government. However, there was as yet no formal parliament and a cabinet was not formed until 1875. The first Premier, Crown Prince David 'Unga, was not appointed until 1876. Parliaments met very infrequently in the early period — 1867, 1870, 1874.

Much of the Codes of 1839 and 1850 was incorporated in the Code of 1862, but it was also directly influenced by the Hawaiian Constitution of 1855, and the advice of a journalist, Charles St. Julian, afterwards Hawaiian Consul in Sydney, who sent suggestions to the king.[24]

Shirley Baker, only two years in Tonga, but already making his presence felt, was entrusted with writing out the Code. Whether, at this early stage in his career, he did much more than that for the king is doubtful.

The missionaries had much less to do with the Code of 1862 than with the previous codes even though the king sometimes consulted them about it. He had reached the stage when he did not generally desire the same dependence on their advice. Some years before this, Richard Amos, when writing to John Eggleston, Missionary Secretary, had represented the missionaries' opinion: "The king happens to have a will of his own" (26 October 1857).

Other differences appeared. The king's policy did not always conform to the missionaries' interpretation of Scripture. W. J. Davis wrote to Eggleston that he had spoken to the king who wished to allow divorce and re-marriage after three years' separation, a provision that Davis regarded as "a violation of Scripture" (6 September 1861).[25] The missionaries regretted certain significant omissions in the new Code; adultery and fornication were punishable as before, but there was no longer a prohibition of native dancing.

> simply cannot find the same number of workers. "Price-hiking is becoming unavoidable as food items become scarce," Mr. Simiki said.[11]

In 1972 the Tongan Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Finance pointed out that "every year only about 5 percent of the school-leavers find wage employment in the industrial and tertiary sectors" of the Tongan economy.[12]

As a result of this untenable situation, the New Zealand overseas work scheme was begun in 1971. This system contributed significantly to Tonga's favorable balance of payments in 1972-1973. In 1971-1972, net remittances by Tongans working overseas totaled some $1,250,000; and for 1972-1973, this had increased to approximately $2,000,000. This money, along with donations, gifts, and contributions from overseas ($2,150,000), helped to offset the Tongan trade deficit.[13] (In 1972-1973 gross tourism earnings provided Tongans with some $1,530,000. Compared with the previous year, tourism revenues increased by some 24 percent.)

Though the work scheme improves the balance of payments in Tonga, most of the money earned by Tongans in New Zealand is eventually returned to New Zealand to pay for increased imports. Also, the overseas work scheme appears to be contributing to family tensions and an increased divorce rate in Tonga.[14] Crocombe has criticized the overseas work scheme as a form of "poorer independent islands subsidizing their rich big neighbors," even though the Tongan government requested the New Zealand government to initiate such a work program.[15] While there may be some short-term benefits to Tongans, long-range analysis of this work scheme may prove Crocombe correct.

The Tongan government and private entrepreneurs must encourage the diversification of the Tongan economy beyond short-term overseas work schemes. Tongans, for their part, must realize that tourism is not the ultimate solution to economic stability. A 1969 United Nations consultant's report stated:

> There is no immediate prospect of absorbing in gainful employment more than a very small proportion of those who cannot find work on the land. The visitor industry (tourism) is unlikely to be a really significant employer of labor . . . .[16]

Besides being small-scale, tourism is unreliable as a steady source of income for Tongans. In 1972, for example, at least forty tour groups cancelled their visits to Tonga because of the uncertainty of air travel to and from the Kingdom. Late in 1973 and early in 1974, five cruise ships cancelled their stops at Tonga



A,B,C,D,E,F, [For footnotes, see pp. 93-A &93-B--Analyst]

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
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The Secretary also noted that every year, only about 5 percent of the Tongans who leave school are able to find employment in the Tongan economy.

To offset this serious lack of domestic employment, thousands of Tongans since 1971 have gone overseas to work, primarily in New Zealand. Their remittances to Tonga have been substantial: in 1971-72 us$1,250,000 and for 1972-73 us$2,000,000. This money, together with donations, gifts, and contributions from other overseas sources (us$2,150,000) have helped to offset the Tongan trade deficit. In addition, individual men, returning to Tonga after the expiration of overseas work permits, often bring back a substantial amount of cash (once estimated to be an average of us$1,800 per man). Although this work program was initiated at the request of the Tongan government, it has been criticized as being a form of economic subservience. The revenues obtained from this unique "export item" (diligent and hardworking Tongans) have, in fact, benefitted the Tongan economy, but they have also created some domestic problems: family life is disrupted for male wage earners who go overseas, and divorce appears to be increasing.

Tonga, as with the rest of Oceania, continues to undergo massive acculturation. The economic problems have aggravated social problems because of the inability of individual Tongans to achieve their Western-induced desires. Housebreaking, theft, and unlawful entry are now prevalent crimes in Tonga and are, unfortunately, apparently increasing at a steady rate. Tongan homes now commonly have barred windows, and families may keep numerous dogs in the yard for protection. Crimes of violence have also increased, especially in attacks by Tongans on non-Tongans. The Tongan Minister of Police openly admits that in view of population pressures and economic side effects, continued potential increase of crime may reasonably be predicted.

In the face of their economic dilemma, it is not surprising that in their 1970-75 development plan, Tonga has assessed tourism as having the greatest economic potential to the Kingdom, both as an employer of labour and also as a source of foreign exchange.

## The Economic Role of Tourism

Tourists arrive in Tonga by private yacht, by cruise ships making a one or two-day stop as part of a longer Pacific itinerary, or by air from Samoa or Fiji. Guests to Tonga in 1958 were an elite group, when only three cruise vessels landed passengers at Tongatapu, and some special flights brought a total of sixty-four air passengers from Australia (Figure 2). Subsequently, tourism has grown steadily and rapidly, and more growth is anticipated, including tourism to areas other than Nuku'alofa. In 1973,

/67 cont./

593 837 [198] ancient Tongan custom, for Mariner already reports "that no man is understood to be bound to conjugal fidelity," /cited in English/ (191)

191. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 175.

but he adds that most men remain reasonably faithful to their wives and that excesses in extramarital relations on the part of the men are not looked upon with favor. Today in Tonga there is something 587 resembling "successive polygamy" in which the marriage partners 586 dissolve the marriage and enter into one marriage after another. Thus, in April 1952, among the 82 marriages formally adhered to in 'Uiha, there were 12 in which the partners had separated without a regular divorce. In eight cases the husband, in four cases the wife "departed" (acting on their own initiative, usually to relatives in another island of the Archipelago), with no thought of even returning, 178 and soon entered another marriage. This free attitude toward married 586 life is reminiscent of ancient Tongan times when, according to 587 Mariner's calculation, some two-thirds of all women were married, of these half stayed with their husbands, while the rest were married and quickly divorced again, only to be remarried three, four or five times during their lives. (192)

192 J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 167/168.

[562] Since freedom to dissolve the marriage in ancient Tonga was almost entirely the husband's privilege, we must note here a certain change in favor of the wife.

581 However, Tongan marriage seems more stable today than it was in 178 old times, (193)

586 193. Also compare the figures given above with
177 reference to unmarried individuals in 'Uiha and Fungamisi.

especially since, through the Christianization of Tonga, /68/ it was reinforced to a certain extent by religion, and lawful divorce is no

/68 cont./

581 longer as easy as it formerly was. (194)
178

586 194. According to Mariner, a divorce by the husband occurred "with no other ceremony than just telling her that she may go..." /cited in English/ (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 173.)
177

587 Nevertheless, many a nonchalant Tongan thinks nothing of leaving his
586 spouse and establishing himself in another household in the village, in order to enter another marriage without being in a hurry about legal divorce with its attendant costs.

585 The number of married persons is larger today than it was in
162 pre-European times, if the statements of the generally quite reliable
178 Mariner are correct. (195)

195. Mariner says one-third of the women are unmarried (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 168.)

592 There is no reason to doubt that in the past the household of the
565 majority of commoners working as farmers consisted of approximately
178 the same number of persons as today. (196)

(589) 196. The unmarried women lived mainly as servants on the properties of the chiefs (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 168), just as male commoners were used as cooks and humble work-
(463) men (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 92.

[597] Certain numerical differences could only have come about through the adoption of children, in case this was as common as Gifford assumes. (197)

197. E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/. p. 26; compare with this the numbers given above of today's adopted children.

592 The rather impressive household of nobles resulting from polygamy and
565 numerous servants has, however, with few exceptions, been reduced to the general standard (of commoners).